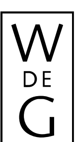
H. G. M. Williamson
Holy, Holy, Holy:
The Story of a Liturgical Formula



Centrum Orbis Orientalis (CORO)
Zentrum für semitistische und verwandte Studien

Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

Julius-Wellhausen-Vorlesung

Herausgegeben von
Reinhard G. Kratz und Rudolf Smend

Heft 1

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Mit einer Einführung von Reinhard G. Kratz

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Einführung

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1

Mit diesem Heft wird die neue Reihe der Julius-Wellhausen-Vorlesungen eröffnet, die in der Regel mündlich gehalten und anschließend in dieser Form publiziert werden sollen. Die Vorlesungsreihe ist eine Initiative der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen und wird von dem gemeinsam von Akademie und Universität getragenen Centrum Orbis Orientalis (CORO) ausgerichtet. Einmal im Jahr soll eine Wissenschaftlerin oder ein Wissenschaftler, vorzüglich aus dem Ausland, nach Göttingen eingeladen werden, um einen allgemein verständlichen Vortrag über ein Thema aus den Gebieten der klassischen und orientalischen Altertumswissenschaften zu halten. Die Reihe wird aus einer Stiftung finanziert, die eigens für diesen Zweck eingerichtet wurde. Ihr Grundkapital ist der Alfried Krupp-Wissenschaftspreis, der im Jahre 1998 zum ersten Mal vergeben und Rudolf Smend, damals Präsident der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, zugesprochen wurde.

Die Vorlesung ist nach einem der Gelehrten benannt, die das Gesicht der Universität Göttingen im 19. Jahrhundert nachhaltig prägten.[1] Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) forschte im Laufe seines Lebens über drei Gebiete: das Alte Testament, das Neue Testament und das alte Arabien, anders ausgedrückt: das Judentum, das Christentum und

1 Zum Folgenden vgl. R. G. Kratz, Art. Wellhausen, Julius, Theologische Realenzyklopädie 35, Berlin / New York 2003, 527–536; R. Smend, Julius Wellhausen. Ein Bahnbrecher in drei Disziplinen, Carl Friedrich von Siemens Stiftung, Themen Bd. 84, München 2006.

den frühen Islam. In allen drei Disziplinen hat er Bahnbrechendes geleistet, wovon sie bis heute zehren. Die nach ihm benannte Vorlesung will zum einen an Julius Wellhausen erinnern, zum anderen zur Fortsetzung und öffentlichen Verbreitung der Forschungen in den von ihm repräsentierten und benachbarten philologisch-historischen Disziplinen beitragen.

Der Name Julius Wellhausen hat weltweiten Klang, ist aber in besonderer Weise mit Göttingen und der Georgia Augusta verbunden. Hier hat Wellhausen Theologie und bei Heinrich Ewald, einem der Göttinger Sieben, semitische Sprachen studiert. Mit 28 Jahren wurde er nach Greifswald berufen, wo er genau zehn Jahre, von 1872 bis 1882, lehrte. In die Greifswalder Jahre fallen die Werke, die die Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament revolutionieren sollten, und sein Austritt aus der theologischen Fakultät. Weil er sich in der Ausbildung künftiger Pastoren am falschen Platz sah, legte er seine theologische Professur nieder und bat den Minister um Versetzung in die philosophische Fakultät. Die Regierung stimmte zu, und so kam Wellhausen als Orientalist zunächst nach Halle, anschließend nach Marburg und schließlich – im Jahr 1892, also wiederum genau zehn Jahre später und zwanzig Jahre nach seinem Weggang – wieder nach Göttingen. Hier setzte er seine alttestamentlichen und die inzwischen aufgenommenen arabistischen Arbeiten fort und wandte sich gegen Ende seines Lebens besonders dem Neuen Testament zu. Am 7. Januar 1918 ist Julius Wellhausen verstorben, am 10. Januar wurde er auf dem Göttinger Stadtfriedhof begraben. Auf seinem Grabstein steht: „Der Gerechten Seelen sind in Gottes Hand und keine Qual rührt sie an" (Weisheit Salomos 3,1).

Julius Wellhausen war in erster Linie Philologe und Historiker, der die Überlieferung kritisch sichtete und sowohl auf ihre historische als auch geistes- und theologiegeschichtliche Bedeutung hin untersuchte. Oder in den Worten des Altphilologen Eduard Schwartz, der den schönsten Text über Wellhausen verfasst hat: „Indem die Überlieferung an der Geschichte gemessen wurde, ergab sie selbst wiederum Geschichte und zwar auch in ihren jüngsten Schichten, mochten diese noch so sehr aus Fiktionen bestehen; denn Fiktionen setzen eine Willensrichtung voraus und diese muß nur in die richtigen Zusammenhänge eingereiht werden, um ebenfalls als historische Wirklichkeit

erkannt zu werden."[2] Auf diese Weise hat Wellhausen für alle drei Gebiete, auf denen er arbeitete, den historischen Rahmen abgesteckt: Im Alten Testament hat er den fundamentalen Unterschied zwischen dem alten Israel der staatlichen (vorexilischen) und dem Judentum der nachstaatlichen (nachexilischen) Zeit entdeckt, im Neuen Testament den nicht weniger fundamentalen Unterschied zwischen dem historischen Jesus und dem Jesus der Evangelien herausgearbeitet. In der Arabistik hat er durch kritische Analyse der islamischen Quellen die Welt des vorislamischen Arabertums erschlossen und wesentliche Beiträge zur Geschichte des frühen Islam vorgelegt.

Noch keinen Anteil hatte Julius Wellhausen an der Erforschung der altorientalischen Quellen aus Ägypten, Mesopotamien (Sumer – Assur – Babylon), dem Iran, Kleinasien und Nord-Syrien. Diese waren zu seiner Zeit noch nicht hinreichend entziffert und teilweise noch gar nicht entdeckt. Wellhausen erkannte ihre Wichtigkeit, überließ die Bearbeitung aber anderen. Die mit diesen Quellen befassten Wissenschaften der Ägyptologie, Assyriologie, Iranistik und Semitistik sind diejenigen Disziplinen, die heute – neben den Bibelwissenschaften und der Arabistik sowie der Klassischen Philologie und der Alten Geschichte – das Profil des Göttinger Centrum Orbis Orientalis in besonderer Weise prägen. Für das CORO ist Julius Wellhausen nicht nur Repräsentant der drei Disziplinen, in denen er gearbeitet hat, sondern Vorbild und Ansporn für eine interdisziplinäre Forschung auf sämtlichen Gebieten der klassischen und orientalischen Altertumswissenschaften, wofür die Voraussetzungen in Göttingen besonders günstig sind.

2

Als ersten Redner in der neuen Reihe der Julius-Wellhausen-Vorlesungen hat die zuständige Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften Hugh G. M. Williamson, Regius Professor for Hebrew an der Universität Oxford, eingeladen. In der mündlichen Einleitung zu dem hier gedruckten Vortrag begann Williamson seine Ausführungen, wie

2 E. Schwartz, Julius Wellhausen (mit zwei Beilagen), Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Geschäftliche Mitteilungen 1918, 43–73 (Zitat S. 56), wiederabgedruckt in: Ders., Vergangene Gegenwärtigkeiten. Gesammelte Studien I, Berlin 1938 (^{2}1963), 326–261 (S. 342).

in Großbritannien üblich, mit einem *joke*. Er habe sich die Frage gestellt, warum ausgerechnet er eingeladen worden sei, und ihm sei nichts anderes eingefallen als vielleicht die Ähnlichkeit seines Namens mit dem Wellhausens, der ebenfalls mit *W* beginnt, ein doppeltes *L* in derselben Position aufweist und insgesamt zehn Buchstaben zählt. Im Folgenden seien noch ein paar mehr Gründe genannt.

Einer dieser Gründe ist die enge Beziehung zwischen Wellhausen und Großbritannien. Diese besteht nicht nur darin, dass Wellhausen in Göttingen an einer Universität lehrte, die den Namen des Kurfürsten von Hannover und Königs von Großbritannien Georgs II. trägt – ein Sachverhalt, der dem eingefleischten Anhänger Preußens allerdings wenig bedeutet haben dürfte. Die Beziehung beruht vor allem auf fachlichen und persönlichen Verbindungen, die in die Zeit vor Wellhausens Berufung nach Göttingen zurückreichen.

"Ye cannot serve God and Mammon. Ye cannot believe the Bible and Wellhausen." Dieser Satz, der 1882 in einer kirchlichen Zeitung in London zu lesen stand, markiert den Höhepunkt eines Streits, der in Schottland entbrannt war.[3] Der Alttestamentler, Orientalist und Anthropologe William Robertson Smith war am 26. Mai 1881 von der Free Church of Scottland wegen Häresie von seinem theologischen Lehrstuhl in Aberdeen entfernt worden. Er hatte sich den Thesen von Julius Wellhausens angeschlossen und diesem die Gelegenheit gegeben, seine neuen Ansichten über die Geschichte Israels und die Bibel in der *Encyclopaedia Britannica* einem breiteren Publikum in Großbritannien bekannt zu machen.

In diesem Zusammenhang bekam Wellhausen, damals Professor für Altes Testament in Greifswald, sogar zweimal Besuch von Abgesandten der Free Church of Scottland. Die beiden Besucher waren allerdings einigermaßen überrascht, als sie den Mann persönlich kennen lernten, der mit seinen Arbeiten die Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament revolutioniert und damit nicht nur die Gemüter in

3 Zum Folgenden vgl. R. Smend, Julius Wellhausen und seine Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels, in: Ders., Epochen der Bibelkritik. Gesammelte Studien 3, BEvTh 109, München 1991, 168–185 (Zitate S. 169–170), wiederabgedruckt in: Ders., Bibel und Wissenschaft, Tübingen 2004, 141–158 (S. 141–143); englisch: Julius Wellhausen and His Prolegomena to the History of Israel, Semeia 25, 1983, 1–20.

Deutschland erhitzt, sondern auch den kirchlichen Frieden in Schottland gestört hatte. Dem einen der beiden Besucher hatten es besonders Wellhausens Zigarren angetan. Noch am selben Tag schrieb er an seine Frau: "We were most cordially received, and enjoyed him immensely. He immediately produced cigars and wine – I have smoked a great deal here." Auch Jahre später, anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Wellhausen am 14. Mai 1914, erinnerte sich der Besucher noch an diesen Empfang und schrieb im British Weekly: "A man more frank, friendly, cordial and hospitable I never hope to see."

Im südlichen England, wo die Universitätsstadt Oxford liegt, ging man etwas vornehmer und gewohnt pragmatisch mit dem Fall Wellhausen um. Wie die schottische empörte sich auch die englische Öffentlichkeit über die "continental critics", die Bibelkritiker auf dem Festland. Ein britischer Offizier, Captain Claude Conder, der in den Jahren 1872–1878 für den Palestine Exploration Fund tätig war und sich für Archäologie interessierte, nahm in einem Artikel im *Contemporary Review* von 1887 Wellhausen direkt aufs Korn. Er wollte zeigen, dass "many of the results at which Wellhausen arrives by his exegesis are not supported by the discoveries due to modern research." Mit dem "modern research" meinte er die archäologischen Entdeckungen, die damals gerade gemacht wurden und die, wie er glaubte, die Angaben der Bibel bestätigten (*Tent Work in Palestine*, London 1879). Wellhausen verfolge dagegen "a purely literary study" und versäume es, die "results of the study of the monuments and manners in the East" zur Kenntnis zu nehmen und von ihnen zu lernen. Daher empfahl Captain Conder, "Wellhausen should be set on a camel in the wilderness and see for himself rather than speculate over words in his comfortable study".[4] Es war wiederum William Robertson Smith, der in derselben Nummer des *Contemporary Review* von 1887 für Wellhausen Stellung bezog und die Absurdität der Argumentation des "being there" und der wahllos zusammengestellten "monuments" offen legte. Es sei nun einmal nicht einfach damit getan "going up and

4 Vgl. dazu D. M. Varisco, The Archaeologist's Spade and the Apologist's Stacked Deck: The Near East through Conservative Bibliolatry, in: A. Amanat / M. T. Bernhardsson (eds.), The United States and the Middle East, Yale Center for International and Area Studies 5, New Haven 2002, 57–116, hier 76–79 (Zitat Varisco S. 77).

down the country with a theodolite". Mit Hinweis auf die nötigen philologischen, epigraphischen und historischen Fähigkeiten bestritt Robertson Smith "that the German critic in his study is at a disadvantage as compared with the English amateur".

Ein wenig war der Rat des Captain Conder sicher auch auf die Professoren in Oxford gemünzt. Denn auch sie ritten für gewöhnlich nicht auf Kamelen durch die Wildnis des Vorderen Orients, sondern saßen lieber in ihren mehr oder weniger komfortablen Studierzimmern. Und hier sah man die Sache etwas anders als Captain Conder und die englische Öffentlichkeit. Zwar ging man in Oxford nicht so weit wie der Schotte Robertson Smith, brachte aber den neuen, kritischen Ansichten Wellhausens dennoch ein gewisses Verständnis oder wenigstens Wohlwollen entgegen. Vor allem zollte man ihm Respekt seiner philologischen Kenntnisse wegen, die in Oxford und zumal von dem damaligen Regius Professor of Hebrew, Samuel Rolles Driver, sehr geschätzt wurden. Driver war einer der Vorgänger auf dem königlichen Lehrstuhl, den heute Professor Williamson innehat, und ebenfalls Fellow von Christ Church College, wenn auch nicht als "ordinary student" wie Williamson, sondern als "canon", eine Art kirchlicher Würdenträger.

Im Jahre 1890 veröffentlichte S. R. Driver seine berühmten "Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel". Mit diesen Notes betrat er ein Feld, das Wellhausen in einem seiner frühen Werke, „Der Text der Bücher Samuelis" von 1871, bereits beackert hatte. Der Regius Professor Driver ist des Lobes voll, nennt in seinem Vorwort das Buch von Wellhausen "an unpretending but epoch-making work on the textual criticism of the Old Testament" und bescheinigt dem Autor "rare acumen and sagacity". Er beschließt seine Besprechung des Buches in einer wohl ausgewogenen Balance von Respekt und Distanz: "Wellhausen's scholarship is fine: his judgement is rarely at fault; and in the critical treatment of the text, I have been strongly sensible of the value of his guidance. But I have uniformly maintained an independent judgement, whether towards Wellhausen or other scholars."

3

“Independent judgement” zeichnet auch den Nachfolger von Driver auf dem königlichen Lehrstuhl für Hebräisch in Oxford, Hugh Williamson, aus. Und eben dies ist ein weiterer Grund, weswegen die Wahl auf ihn fiel und er gebeten wurde, gewissermaßen als geborenes Mitglied der Universität seiner Majestät Georgs II. und neu gewähltes korrespondierendes Mitglied der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen die Reihe der Julius-Wellhausen-Vorlesungen zu eröffnen.

Williamson, Jahrgang 1947, studierte Theologie und semitische Sprachen in Cambridge und Jerusalem und schloss seine Studien 1975 mit der Dissertation ab. Von 1975 bis 1992 war er als Lecturer für Hebräisch und Aramäisch in der Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge, tätig und wurde 1992 “at the other place”, die Universität Oxford, berufen, wo er seither einen der wenigen von der Krone direkt vergebenen Lehrstühle des Landes für Hebräische Sprache innehat. Williamson ist Mitglied der *British Academy* und einer der führenden Alttestamentler und Hebraisten Großbritanniens und weit darüber hinaus. Er ist Mitherausgeber der Fachzeitschrift *Vetus Testamentum* sowie der Monographienreihe *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, Mitglied im Kuratorium des – der Universität Oxford angeschlossenen – *Centre for Jewish Studies Yarnton*, Chairman der *Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* und Chairman der *Humanities Group* der British Academy. Im Jahre 2004 wurde ihm die jährlich wechselnde Präsidentschaft der Britischen *Society for Old Testament Study* (SOTS) übertragen. Im Jahre 2007 ist er zum korrespondierenden Mitglied der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen gewählt worden.

Schon in seiner Dissertation, *Israel in the Book of Chronicles* (Cambridge 1977, Neuauflage 2007), hat Williamson sein “independent judgement, whether towards Wellhausen or other scholars” unter Beweis gestellt. In ihr wendete er sich einem Gebiet zu, das – nicht zuletzt durch eine einseitige Rezeption von Wellhausen – in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft in Misskredit geraten und daher lange Zeit vernachlässigt worden war: der Epoche und Literatur des frühen Judentums in persischer und hellenistischer Zeit. Mit seinem Buch leitete Williamson eine neue Phase der Chronikforschung ein. Ihm ist der Nachweis gelungen, dass die Chronik, eine Schrift des nachexilischen Judentums, keinesfalls, wie bis dahin angenommen, eine parti-

kulare, auf Juda und Jerusalem beschränkte Sichtweise Israels propagiert, sondern das Ideal der Gemeinschaft der zwölf Stämme Israels vertritt und somit das biblische Bild „Israels“ im wesentlichen eine chronistische Schöpfung ist. Darüber hinaus hat sich Williamson in einer Reihe von Kommentaren zu den Büchern Chronik (NCB 1982), Esra und Nehemia (OTG 1987, Nachdruck 1996; WBC 16, 1985) sowie in zahlreichen Aufsätzen mit der Geschichte und Historiographie Israels in persischer Zeit beschäftigt. Eine Auswahl seiner Aufsätze ist jüngst unter dem Titel *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography* (FAT 38, Tübingen 2004) erschienen und dürfte für lange Zeit ein Referenzwerk auf diesem Gebiet bleiben.

Auch die zweite Monographie, *The Book Called Isaiah* (Oxford 1994), war richtungweisend. Mit ihr griff Williamson in die seinerzeit lebhaft geführte Debatte über die Komposition des Buches Jesaja ein. Wiederum bewährte sich sein “independent judgement”, das sich diesmal sowohl gegen eine konservative als auch gegen eine allzu modische Prophetenexegese wendete. Sahen die einen in dem Prophetenbuch lediglich eine mehr oder weniger lose Zusammenstellung ehemals selbständiger Orakel eines oder mehrerer Propheten, nahmen die anderen die internen Beziehungen wahr und wollten das Jesajabuch (wieder) als literarische Ganzheit betrachten. Williamson ging einen dritten Weg. In solider, textgestützter und besonnener Argumentation begründet er seine Auffassung, dass der zweite, jüngere Teil des Jesajabuches (die Kapitel Jesaja 40–66) eine literarische Fortschreibung des Ersten Jesaja in den Kapiteln Jesaja 1–39 sei, die auch dort ihre literarischen Spuren hinterlassen habe, und beeinflusste auch damit die weitere Forschung nachhaltig. Nach einer Fülle wichtiger Artikel auch auf diesem Gebiet hat Williamson inzwischen (2006) den ersten Band seines groß angelegten Jesaja-Kommentars vorgelegt, der die Kapitel Jesaja 1–5 behandelt und in der Tradition sowohl der Reihe der *International Critical Commentaries* (ICC) als auch seines Lehrstuhls steht und an philologischer Gründlichkeit kaum zu überbieten ist.

4

Im Jesajabuch findet sich auch das Trishagion oder Sanctus, über das Williamson in dem hier abgedruckten Vortrag handelt. Der berühmten Formulierung aus Jesaja 6,3, der er in seiner detaillierten Studie nachgeht, und ihrer Erklärung kommt in mancherlei Hinsicht paradigmatische Bedeutung für die Erklärung des Alten Testaments zu.

So etwa hat die Redeweise von der Herrlichkeit Gottes, die die ganze Erde erfüllt, in der Forschung zu der Frage Anlass gegeben, ob im Alten Testament dem Pantheismus das Wort geredet werde.[5] Für sich betrachtet, lässt die Formulierung ein solches Verständnis durchaus zu und kann im Sinne der Einheit von Gottes Herrlichkeit und Welt gelesen werden. Im Kontext des Kapitels 6 wie des ganzen Jesajabuches hingegen regen sich Zweifel an diesem Verständnis. Danach könnte die Distanz zwischen Gott und Welt, ja zwischen dem Gott Israels und seinem Volk Israel nicht größer sein. Sie sollen hören, aber nicht verstehen, sollen sehen aber nicht begreifen, damit sie nicht umkehren und nicht geheilt werden. Zu diesem Zweck wird der Prophet Gottes zu seinem Volk, „diesem Volk da", wie es verächtlich genannt wird, gesandt (Jes 6,9–11). An der Formulierung von Jes 6,3, die uns aus der Liturgie so vertraut zu sein scheint, tut sich folglich ein Graben zwischen dem überlieferten Text und unseren Lese- und Verstehensgewohnheiten, auch unseren theologischen Fragen, auf, der nur auf dem Wege der historisch-kritischen Erklärung des Alten Testaments überbrückt werden kann. Hierfür ist ein "independent judgement" dringend geboten.

Da das Trishagion von Jes 6,3 ein liturgisches Nachleben im Judentum wie im Christentum hat und es in Jesaja 6 – im Rahmen einer Vision des Propheten – im Tempel erklingt, legt sich die Vermutung nahe, dass es auch ein liturgisches und tempeltheologisches Vorleben hatte, bevor es im Jesajabuch Verwendung fand. In dieser Hinsicht macht der Vortrag von Williamson zweierlei deutlich: Zum einen lernen wir, dass das Alte Testament nicht isoliert betrachtet werden kann, sondern nur als Teil der israelitischen und im weiteren der alt-

5 H. Spieckermann, „Die ganze Erde ist seiner Herrlichkeit voll." Pantheismus im Alten Testament?, ZThK 87, 1990, 415–436, wiederabgedruckt in: Ders., Gottes Liebe zu Israel. Studien zur Theologie des Alten Testaments, FAT 33, 2001, 62–83.

orientalischen Religionsgeschichte, die ihm vorausgeht oder folgt. Zum anderen sehen wir aber auch, dass das Alte Testament nicht einfach die Religionsgeschichte des alten Orient oder auch nur des alten Israel widerspiegelt, sondern seine eigenen Wege gegangen ist, indem es religionsgeschichtliche Vorgaben aufgriff und auf seine Weise transformierte.

Die Aufgabe, die religionsgeschichtliche Vorgeschichte einer alttestamentlichen Formulierung zu rekonstruieren, gehört zu den vornehmsten, aber auch schwierigsten Unterfangen der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft überhaupt. Für die Bewältigung dieser Aufgabe kann man sich entweder auf außeralttestamentliches Material, Inschriften aus dem alten Israel oder altorientalische Zeugnisse, bevorzugt aus dem westsemitischen (kanaanäischen) Raum, oder auf (indirekte) Zeugnisse des Alten Testaments selbst stützen. Wie weit man mit den alttestamentlichen Formulierungen selbst kommt, ist natürlich schwer zu sagen. Sicherheit ist nur zu gewinnen, wenn altorientalische Parallelen zur Verfügung stehen, und auch sie sagen oft nur etwas über das Herkommen und Alter einer Tradition, nicht aber des überlieferten alttestamentlichen Texts aus. Das Trishagion in Jes 6,3 ist nachgerade ein Musterbeispiel dafür, wie wichtig es ist, das Alte Testament im Rahmen der altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte zu studieren, und wie schwierig, daraus Schlüsse für den Ursprung und das Alter einer konkreten, überlieferten alttestamentlichen Formulierung zu ziehen. Es bedarf des „independent judgement“, um beides nicht, wie es vielfach geschieht, voreilig miteinander zu identifizieren.

Nicht weniger wichtig als die Rekonstruktion der religionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Alten Testaments, und hier insbesondere der alttestamentlichen Prophetie, ist die Untersuchung der Transformationen, die die religionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen in den alttestamentlichen Texten erfahren haben. Hier lenkt der Vortrag von Williamson auf eines der aufregendsten Phänomene, mit denen sich die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft zu beschäftigen hat. Entweder sind es ältere Traditionen aus der altorientalischen und israelitischen Religionsgeschichte oder schon vorliegende Texte des Alten Testaments selbst, die im Alten Testament eine neue Interpretation, Modifikation oder totale Umdeutung erfahren haben. An dieser Transformation älterer Überlieferungen ist die alttestamentliche

Prophetie in ganz besonderer Weise beteiligt. Welche Traditionen auch immer es waren und woher sie kamen, in den Büchern der Propheten wurden sie aufgenommen, um mit ihnen, vielfach gegen ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung, dem göttlichen Gericht Ausdruck zu verleihen, das über das Volk Gottes verhängt wurde.

In den jüngeren Texten des Jesajabuchs, so lehrt uns der Vortrag von Williamson, sind es die Worte des Propheten selbst, die eine Umdeutung erfahren. In ihr gewinnt das Trishagion die positive Bedeutung zurück, die ihm von Hause aus eigen zu sein scheint und mit der diese Tradition in die jüdische und christliche Liturgie Eingang fand. Zwischen der ursprünglichen Bedeutung der Tradition und dieser späten, schriftgelehrten Rezeption liegt die Verwendung der Tradition des Trishagion in Jesaja 6. Hier wandelt sich der ursprünglich positive Klang in einen drohenden, beängstigenden Ton. Die Transformation besteht darin, dass die Heiligkeit Gottes und seine die ganze Erde erfüllende Herrlichkeit dem Gottesvolk nicht zugute kommen, sondern dessen Untergang ankündigen. Erst in späterer Zeit hat man sich (wieder) der heilvollen Wirkung von Gottes Heiligkeit und Herrlichkeit erinnert und dieser im Jesajabuch selbst sowie in der jüdischen und christlichen Liturgie Geltung verschafft.

Die alttestamentliche Forschung ist sich bis heute nicht einig darüber, wer für die Transformationen der religionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen in der prophetischen Überlieferung verantwortlich war. In Frage kommen der namengebende Prophet selbst oder die „Schüler des Propheten", sprich: die Autoren der Prophetenbücher, die nach dem Auftreten des Propheten aus dem Rückblick geschrieben und die Worte des Propheten nicht unbedingt im originalen Wortlaut oder in demselben Sinne, wie sie ursprünglich gemeint waren, aufgezeichnet oder – gegebenenfalls aus schriftlichen Quellen – wiedergegeben haben. Manche nehmen auch an, der Prophet selbst habe das unter seinem Namen überlieferte Buch oder wenigstens die ersten Fassungen verfasst. Doch ist klar, dass auch in diesem Fall das geschriebene mit dem vorher mündlich ergangenen oder schriftlich aufgezeichneten (vgl. Jes 8,1–2) Wort nicht in allem identisch sein muss und der Prophet selbst im nachhinein sein eigener Interpret war. In jedem Fall unterlag nicht nur die in das Jesajabuch eingegangene Tradition, hier das Trishagion, sondern auch das ursprüngliche Prophetenwort selbst

der literarischen und theologischen Transformation. Es ist daher keineswegs ausgemacht, ob nicht auch der Prophet selbst zunächst noch ganz in der alten Tradition des Trishagion stand und die Transformation im Rahmen von Jesaja 6 nicht nur die Tradition des Trishagion, sondern auch die ursprünglichen Worte des Propheten betrifft. Auch der Prophet Jesaja gehörte so noch zu den religionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen, die in Jesaja 6 aufgegriffen und wie das Trishagion im Sinne des Gerichts Gottes an seinem Volk umgedeutet wurde.

Auch über den Anlass der Transformation der älteren religionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen im Rahmen des Prophetenbuches wissen wir noch sehr wenig. Deutlich ist nur, dass dieser Vorgang etwas mit den zeitgeschichtlichen Verhältnissen gegen Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zu tun hat. Die Expansion des neuassyrischen Reiches erreichte zwischen 734 und 722 v. Chr. zunächst den Norden Israels (Samaria), anschließend das Südreich Juda, dessen Hauptstadt Jerusalem 701 v. Chr. belagert wurde. In den Wirren dieser unruhigen Zeit, die viel Zerstörung, Deportation und Leid über Israel und Juda brachte, hat die Erfahrung die Menschen gelehrt, dass der Gesang der Seraphen, die Jahwes Heiligkeit und Herrlichkeit preisen, nicht nur Anlass zur Freude und Hoffnung war, sondern auch Unheil für das eigene Volk ankündigen konnte. Dies ist in der Verwendung des Trishagions im Rahmen von Jesaja 6 zum Ausdruck gebracht und löst die weitere, von Williamson eindrucksvoll rekonstruierte Geschichte der liturgischen Formel im Jesajabuch und weit darüber hinaus bis in unsere Gottesdienste aus.

Die Methode zur Rekonstruktion dieser Geschichte einer liturgischen Formel besteht außer der religionsgeschichtlichen Vergleichung in der literarhistorischen Analyse und Einordnung aller Belege im Jesajabuch, die auf irgendeine Weise auf diese Formel anspielen und von Williamson in seinem Vortrag behandelt werden. Keiner hat diese Methode so meisterhaft beherrscht wie Julius Wellhausen, auch wenn er sie weniger bei den Propheten als sehr viel mehr in den geschichtlichen Büchern des Alten Testaments zur Anwendung brachte. Doch war Wellhausen in der Regel mehr an den historischen Ursprüngen und ihrer Transformationen in der Geschichte interessiert, die bei ihm nicht selten als Degeneration erscheinen, so richtet die Bibelwissenschaft heute ihr Augenmerk verstärkt auf die Transforma-

tion selbst, wie sie sich in der biblischen Überlieferung und der anschließenden Religionsgeschichte darstellt. Um die Geschichte der Rezeption nicht als Degeneration, sondern als bis heute nachwirkende, jeweils auf ihre Weise zu würdigende Entwicklung zu begreifen, bedarf eines "independent judgement, whether towards Wellhausen or other scholars", wie es Williamson in seinem Vortrag an den Tag legt.

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Zu danken ist vielen, die an dem Zustandekommen und der Durchführung der ersten Julius-Wellhausen-Vorlesung beteiligt waren: zunächst und vor allem Herrn Professor Dr. Rudolf Smend D. D., der das Unternehmen durch seine großzügige Stiftung ermöglicht hat; sodann der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen und der Universität Göttingen als den beiden Trägern des Centrum Orbis Orientalis, das diese Reihe ausrichtet; dem Koordinator des CORO, Herrn Dr. Martin Jagonak, für die reibungslose Durchführung der Veranstaltung und die Vorbereitung der Drucklegung; und nicht zuletzt dem Verlag Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, der – zunächst unter dem Namen seines Gründers Georg Reimer – die Werke Wellhausens herausgebracht, immer wieder für Neudrucke gesorgt und sich auch dieser Sache ohne Zögern mit großer Tatkraft angenommen hat.

Holy, Holy, Holy: The Story of a Liturgical Formula

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In his vision recorded in Isaiah 6, the prophet reports hearing the antiphonal cry of the seraphim, usually rendered as 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory' (Isa. 6:3). These familiar words have resonated long and loud through the liturgical history of both Judaism and Christianity. While the precise form of words has been varied from one setting to another (as, indeed, we shall see may have already been the case in Isaiah's own formulation), we find that they were in continuous use from the earliest days.

According to Sweet they may have been incorporated into Jewish liturgy already in pre-Christian times, and based on 1 Clement 34:6 he suggests that they may have found their way into the Christian Eucharistic liturgy prior to their echo in Rev. 4:8, 'Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God the Almighty, who was and is and is to come'.[1] To others, however, this seems unduly optimistic. Spinks in particular, for instance, has argued that a clearer distinction should be drawn between the angelic worship as overheard by prophets and later apocalyptic mystics who were given access to the heavenly court on the one hand, and the use of the same formulae in human worship in church or syna-

1 J. Sweet, *Revelation* (London: SCM Press, 1979), 116 and 120; see more fully P. Prigent, *L'Apocalypse des Saint Jean* (CNT 14; Lausanne and Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1981), 87–89, who is more cautious with regard to the early liturgical use of the *Sanctus*, and who does not connect it here with the Eucharist.

gogue on the other.[2] Spinks therefore prefers to speak only in terms of the direct attestation of the Trisagion in liturgical texts, which for the Christian Church is not earlier than the third century (in the eastern tradition).

On the Jewish side, the picture is even more complicated. While there are a considerable number of closer or remote allusions to Isa. 6:3 in the pre-Christian pseudepigraphical literature and at Qumran, the precise relationship of these to actual liturgical practice is not clear. Moreover, the earliest direct evidence we have for liturgical use indicates that there were several forms of the *Qedushah*, each developed for a different setting. And in each, so far as I can see, the use of Isa. 6:3 is less exact than in the Church's later *Sanctus* and it is joined with other scriptural material, most notably Ezek. 3:12, so aligning it more closely with Rev. 4:8.[3] Thus, while the use of Isa. 6:3 in Jewish liturgy clearly predates the fixed form of the prayer book by many centuries,[4] considerable uncertainty inevitably remains concerning whether it directly influenced Christian usage or whether the latter

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2 B. D. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); see previously L. A. Hoffman, *The Canonization of the Synagogue Service* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), 61–62.

3 For references, see E. Werner, 'The Genesis of the Liturgical Sanctus', in J. Westrup (ed.), *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), 19–32. Although this study is now more than 40 years old, I have found its presentation of the evidence and setting out of the alternative possibilities to be fuller, clearer and more helpful than several more recent works.

4 Though the prayer book was not formally codified until about the ninth century, it was certainly effectively in existence long before that, with elements being doubtless of great antiquity. The classic study of the Jewish liturgy remains I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann), especially § 9 a. This work was first published in 1913, with later revisions in 1924 and 1931. The English translation is based on the still later revision (by several other scholars) for the Hebrew edition of 1972; *The Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1993). For a more recent study of the development of the Jewish Prayer Book generally, see S. C. Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer: New Perspectives on Jewish Liturgical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), though he does not give extended attention to our particular concern.

arose independently and naturally by those well versed in the Scriptures.[5]

Spinks's caution is understandable. We should clearly start from firm evidence of liturgical use in dated texts. Nevertheless, he concedes that Isa. 6:3 may itself reflect early temple liturgy – a topic to which I will return shortly – so that it is difficult to rule out the possibility that later re-uses do the same. But if so, it shows only how complicated the path from scriptural text to liturgical rite is likely to have been. At the very least, we may conclude that the later form of the *Sanctus* as we know it still today was clearly even more closely rooted in the Isaianic formulation than that of Rev. 4:8, as the use in the Latin of the loanword *Sabaoth*, from the Hebrew *ṣ^{e}ḇāʾôṯ*, 'hosts, armies', clearly shows.

The use of foreign language in the liturgy is not limited to this example, of course. Occasionally, words of uncertain meaning came to be simplified because of the renderings of the Bible into Greek and Latin. The mysterious Hebrew title for God, *ʾēl šadday*,[6] for instance, came to be the theologically somewhat bland 'God Almighty' on the basis of the commonest Greek rendering παντοκράτωρ, from where, no doubt, there arose the Latin *omnipotens*. But the curious thing is that this was also the usual rendering for *ṣ^{e}ḇāʾôṯ*, but nevertheless that element of the divine title 'Lord of hosts' survived in the undoubtedly more numinous form *Sabaoth*, a designation which then clearly took on a life of its own, as its occurrence in the non-biblical *Te Deum* demonstrates.

This latter pattern is also the case with *Hosanna*, which developed from the cry to a king or deity for aid of whatever sort in Hebrew (cf. Ps. 118:25 and also in Jewish liturgy) to effectively an acclamation of praise, something familiar in Christian parlance (because of its use in

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5 A more positive take on this latter question is offered in response to Spinks and others by P. von der Osten-Sacken, 'Die altkirchlichen Belege für die synagogale Form des Sanctus (Kedusha/Jes. 6,3; Ez. 3,12)', in M. Weippert and S. Timm (eds), *Meilenstein: Festgabe für Herbert Donner zum 16. Februar 1995* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 30; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 172–187.

6 For a brief survey of opinions on this still disputed name, see E. A. Knauf in K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P. W. van der Horst (eds), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (2nd edn; Leiden: Brill, and Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 749–753.

connection with Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem), but never once in Hebrew or Jewish usage.[7] *Hallelujah* remains closer to its biblical meaning, as does *Amen*, but such words must all have seemed strange to congregations who knew or used them in no other (secular) context. Such religious language is accepted from childhood days as the right way to say things in church, but to the majority of those who use them, to ask after what they really or originally meant is to ask a meaningless question. A congregation informed that *Hallelujah* is a piel imperative plural with a shortened form of the divine name is unlikely to be impressed. Nonetheless, it would be true.

In the case of the *Sanctus*, it is my contention that there is a similar story to be told, though because it concerns more than a single word it will inevitably take a little longer to unfold. As the successor of James Barr, I do not need to be reminded that words mean what they are used to mean in a specific context.[8] Church-goers and synagogue attenders may be assured that I have no intention of suggesting that the current liturgical uses are wrong or should be changed. But such people are also inherently likely to be interested to know what a text in Isaiah meant when first penned and to allow that it may have legitimately developed in the centuries since – in some respects, I am tempted to suggest, out of all recognition.

Let me begin, then, by outlining the evidence that what Isaiah says he heard in the sanctuary may have been familiar to him, at least in broad outline, from the liturgy as it was already performed in his day. While the case is stronger for the second half of the acclamation than the first, it is probably best nevertheless to start at the beginning.

It is reasonably certain that holiness was ascribed to the God of Israel, probably under originally Canaanite influence, in the tradition of worship at the Jerusalem temple. There is some dispute about the details of this, though the main point is clear. First, there is the evidence from the texts at Ugarit, a site on the north-eastern Mediterranean coast. These texts, in a language closely related to Classical Hebrew, include much detail about the religion of the city in the Late Bronze Age, which is earlier than the period of the biblical Israelites

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7 Cf. M. H. Pope, *ABD* iii, 290–91.

8 Cf. J. Barr, The *Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

but seems closely to reflect the religion of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan. As in Hebrew,[9] members of the heavenly court there could be designated as 'the holy ones' or the like.[10] It is less clear whether the High God El himself was entitled *qdš*,[11] though he probably was. Either way, secondly, holiness is brought into the closest possible proximity with El Elyon of Jerusalem in Ps. 46:5, which speaks of 'the holy habitation of the Most High', and Schmidt may be right in suggesting that through this route the title 'Holy One of Israel' came to be applied

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9 E.g. Exod. 15:11(?); Deut. 33:2–3; Zech. 14:5; Ps. 89:6, 8; Job 5:1; 15:15, etc.; cf. H.-P. Müller, 'קדשׁ *qdš* heilig', in *THAT* ii, 589–609 (602) (ET *TLOT* iii, 1103–1118 [1112–1113]).

10 In similar fashion, the tenth-century Phoenician inscription of King Yahimilk of Byblos refers in lines 4–5 to מפחרת אל גבל קדשם, 'the assembly of the holy gods of Byblos/Gubal'; cf. J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 3: *Phoenician Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 18, and S. Segert in W. W. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture*, 2: *Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 146.

11 The relevant passages are *KTU* 1.16 I 10–11, 21–22; 1.16 II 49, where Krt is called not only a son of El, but also a *špḥ . lṭpn . wqdš*. There are three principal views on this: (i) usually, it is rendered 'the offspring of the Gracious and Holy One' or the like, so that *qdš* refers to El; see recently, for instance, D. Pardee, 'The Kirta Epic (1.102)', in W. W. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture,* 1: *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 333–343 (339b and 341a); T. Wagner, *Gottes Herrschaft: Eine Analyse der Denkschrift (Jes 6,1–9,6)* (VTSup 108; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 106. This approach is adopted in particular by W. H. Schmidt, 'Wo hat die Aussage: Jahwe "der Heilige" ihren Ursprung?', *ZAW* 74 (1962), 62–66, in relation to our present discussion; see too H. Niehr, 'Bedeutung und Funktion kanaanäischer Traditionselemente in der Sozialkritik Jesajas', *BZ* NF 28 (1984), 69–81; (ii) alternatively, A. van Selms, 'The Expression "The Holy One of Israel"', in W. C. Delsman *et al.* (eds.), *Von Kanaan bis Kerala: Festschrift für Prof. Mag. Dr. Dr. J. P. M. van der Ploeg zur Vollendung des siebzigsten Lebensjahres am 4. Juli 1979* (AOAT 211; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), 257–269, follows Ginsberg in rendering 'an offspring of the Kindly One, and a holy being', thus attributing the title to Krt himself as 'a minor god'; (iii) finally, it is occasionally suggested that the reference is to Krt's divine mother: 'the offspring of Kindly One ('El) and Qudšu ('Aṯirat)'; cf. E. T. Mullen, *The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature* (HSM, 24; Chico CA: Scholars Press, 1980), 250.

by a natural extension to Yahweh.[12] At any rate, the evidence of Ps. 78.41 and 89.19, thirdly, suggests that this divine title too may have been adapted by Isaiah from the Jerusalem tradition. The title appears in both passages, and even though it is uncertain whether either was written before Isaiah's time,[13] it is most unlikely that they derived it from him; more likely it was being used in the temple liturgy from which both the psalmists and Isaiah were familiar with it. Isaiah himself used the title only very rarely, but it came to be used far more frequently and with developed meaning by the later contributors to the book of Isaiah as a whole, something for which reflection on the Trisagion by later authors may be partly responsible.[14] Finally, although it therefore seems likely that God was always worshipped as holy in Jerusalem, the transition from El to Yahweh in this regard may have been particularly helped by the fact that the ark too had apparently long been associated with the holiness of God (cf. 1 Sam. 6:20). This becomes of further relevance when we recall the strong arguments of Mettinger[15] and Ollenburger[16] that the divine title used in the

12 W. H. Schmidt, *Alttestamentliche Glaube und seine Umwelt: Zur Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Gottesverständnisses* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968), 136–137 (ET, *The Faith of Israel: A History* [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983], 154).

13 A reasonable case can be made for the pre-Isaianic date of Ps. 78. There is a full survey and balanced discussion in M. E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100* (WBC 20; Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 284–287. To his bibliography we should add J. Day, 'Pre-Deuteronomic Allusions to the Covenant in Hosea and Psalm lxxviii', *VT* 36 (1986), 1–12, and P. Stern, 'The Eighth Century Dating of Psalm 78 Re-argued', *HUCA* 66 (1995), 41–65, both of whom argue strongly that Ps. 78 should be dated earlier than 722 BCE. The situation with regard to Ps. 89 is more complicated because many commentators regard the Psalm as composite. Interestingly, those who do so generally include v. 19 with what they take to be the earlier (pre-exilic) layer.

14 H. G. M. Williamson, 'Isaiah and the Holy One of Israel', in A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg (eds.), *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* (JSOTSup 333; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 22–38.

15 T. N. D. Mettinger, 'YHWH SABAOTH – The Heavenly King on the Cherubim Throne', in T. Ishida (ed.), *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays: Papers Read at the International Symposium for Biblical Studies, Tokyo, 5–7 December, 1979* (Tokyo: Yamakawa-Shuppansha, 1982), 109–138.

trisagion, 'the Lord of Hosts', was probably not native to Jerusalem, but had its origin in association with the ark at Shiloh. If that be true, then it is attractive to see in the first half of this liturgical formula, in which holiness is so emphatically ascribed to the Lord of Hosts, something which reached back to the earliest days of temple worship when Canaanite and native Israelite conceptions of the deity were fused into a new appreciation. Indeed, the threefold repetition of the word 'holy', which is certainly unusual in Hebrew, may find its most natural explanation as being a reflection of liturgical usage.[17]

When we turn to the second half of the acclamation, 'the whole earth is full of his glory', we find that there are parallels elsewhere which suggest even more strongly that it had deep roots in the tradition of public worship at the temple, though with a slight but significant difference, as we shall see.

In the course of his most valuable study of Isaiah 6, Hartenstein has pointed out that the two most important passages for our concern are Num. 14:21 and Ps. 72:19.[18] Both include an identical clause which is only loosely integrated into its context, so giving the impression of possibly being cited from elsewhere.

Num. 14:13–25 is an account of how Moses interceded with God to spare his unbelieving people – in the course of which (v. 18) he cited the very familiar description of the Lord as 'slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love, etc.' (cf. Exod. 34:6–7), which itself came

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16 B. C. Ollenburger, *Zion, The City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol of the Jerusalem Cult* (JSOTSup 41; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987).

17 *qāḏôš* is repeated three times to express particular emphasis, similar to the superlative; cf. Jer. 7:4; 22:29; Ezek. 21:32; GK § 133*k*. It appears only twice in 1QIsa[a], rather as a repetition was avoided by the scroll in v. 2 *(šēš k[e]nāp̄ayim)*. While either text is possible, MT is generally preferred (a rare exception is N. Walker, 'The Origin of the "Thrice-Holy"', *NTS* 5 [1958/59], 132–133, and 'Disagion versus Trisagion', *NTS* 7 [1960/61], 170–171; contrast B. M. Leiser, 'The Trisagion of Isaiah's Vision, *NTS* 6 [1959/60], 261–263); if R. Scoralick is correct in her understanding that Ps. 99 is based upon Isaiah 6, then its threefold *qāḏôš*-refrain (vv. 3, 5 and 9) would suggest the greater antiquity of MT; cf. *Trishagion und Gottesherrschaft: Psalm 99 als Neuinterpretation von Tora und Propheten* (SBS 138; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1989).

18 F. Hartenstein, *Die Unzugänglichkeit Gottes im Heiligtum: Jesaja 6 und der Wohnort JHWHs in der Jerusalemer Kulttradition* (WMANT 75; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1997), 101–105.

to be used as a prominent element in the liturgy – and then of God's reply. This begins quite clearly in v. 20: 'Then the Lord said, "I do forgive, just as you have asked" '. There is a qualification added to this promise of forgiveness, however, marked in Hebrew by the rather emphatic *w*^{e}*ʾûlām*, 'nevertheless', and this is also further reinforced by the oath formula 'as I live'. The obvious continuation of this strongly worded qualification comes in vv. 22–23: 'none of the people who have seen my glory and the signs that I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and yet have tested me these ten times and have not obeyed my voice, shall see the land that I swore to give to their ancestors'. There is an interruption before this continuation, however, in the second half of v. 21, which reads: 'and as all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord'. That these words are not well integrated into their present context is shown mainly by the fact that God is suddenly referred to in the third person in a passage where he himself is the speaker.[19] This is not absolutely impossible, of course, but it would be unlikely in a passage being written from scratch without any previous antecedent. At the least, it seems probable that the Lord is here quoting, so to speak, some formula that is familiar from elsewhere.

That conclusion is sufficient for our immediate purpose, though in fact I suspect that the words have been added secondarily into the present literary context for a rather particular reason. In the immediately preceding passage which led up to the account of Moses interceding for his people we read that 'the glory of the Lord appeared at the tent of meeting to all the Israelites' (v. 10), whereupon God pronounced his initial words of judgment. In our passage, however, as we have seen, there is a reference to the glory of God having been seen in Egypt and elsewhere, so that clearly it was not narrowly localized at the tent of meeting, as might otherwise be supposed. It seems to me probable, therefore (though in the nature of the case incapable of proof) that a later commentator has joined the two notions by the citation of a familiar liturgical formula in order to remind the reader

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19 The commentators generally remain surprisingly silent on this point. B. A. Levine, *Numbers 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 4A; New York: Doubleday, 1993), does at least mention that 'the perspective shifts to the third person' (p. 367), though without elaboration, but then in his translation he inexplicably renders: 'and just as my *(sic)* glorious presence expands to fill the entire earth' (p. 360)

that God's glory is indeed not limited to the tent but will one day be truly universal. Even without this latter speculation, however, the probability that the clause is being cited from some other familiar context is apparent.

The case of Ps. 72:19 is even more straightforward. The same formula occurs there, with the only difference being that 'his glory *(k^{e}ḇôḏô)*' comes in the place of 'the glory of the Lord' *(k^{e}ḇôḏ yhwh)*. This verse is part of the concluding doxology of the psalm, if not, indeed, of the whole second book of the Psalter. The Book of Psalms is divided into five books, each of which ends with a doxology, the final one of all being a complete Psalm.[20] In the case of Books 1 and 3, the doxology is similar, starting 'Blessed be the Lord' and concluding 'Amen and Amen' (Ps. 41:14; 89:53). At the end of Book 4 there is a slight variation, in that Ps. 106:48 again starts with 'Blessed be the Lord', but then concludes with 'and let all the people say "Amen". Praise the Lord'. The use of Amen thus links back to the preceding doxologies, while the addition of the final exhortation to praise perhaps bridges over to the final doxology in the Psalter, namely Psalm 150, which begins and ends with the same exhortation. In the light of this pattern, it seems best to take the whole of Ps. 72:18–19 as the concluding doxology for Book 3. It too starts with 'Blessed be the Lord' and concludes with 'Amen and Amen'. Although there is a longer elaboration of the blessing than in the other cases, it is noteworthy that it is precisely on this point that flexibility is shown: Ps. 89:53 is the shortest in this regard, 106:48 is a little longer and 41:14 a little longer again.[21] There seems no reason, therefore, why 72:18–19 should not be more of the same. Weiser argued that because there is the further addition of the colophon 'The prayers of David son of Jesse are ended' (72:20), verses 19–20 should be regarded as an integral part of the

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20 See, for instance, R. G. Kratz, 'Die Tora Davids: Psalm 1 und die doxologische Fünfteilung des Psalters', *ZThK* 93 (1996), 1–34 (repr. in *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels* [FAT 42; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004], 280–311).

21 Cf. K. Seybold, *Die Psalmen* (HAT I/15; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1996), 279.

psalm,[22] but the parallels we have noted with the close of the other books of the Psalter tell heavily against this, and Weiser appears to have attracted no support for his position.

It thus seems clear that Ps. 72:19 is liturgical, and that at Num 14:21 the same words occur in a passage which at the least is citing what looks like a fixed formula. Given that there is no apparent direct connection between these two passages, I conclude that the expression had a wider currency in ancient Israel and that the liturgy in some shape or form is overwhelmingly the most probable setting for this. Some support for this may come further from the grammatically unusual construction of the Hebrew[23] and from the fact that the same formula is recast as an eschatological wish at Hab. 2:14: 'But the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea'.[24]

The language of the second clause of the trisagion is thus familiar but its precise formulation is unparalleled. By comparison with what I have argued was the form familiar to him from the liturgy, Isaiah has turned the verbal clause into a nominal one by changing the verb *wᵉy-immālēʾ* ('and may it be filled') into the construct noun *mᵉlôʾ* ('the

22 A. Weiser, *Die Psalmen* (ATD 14/15; 4th edn; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955), 343 (ET, *The Psalms: A Commentary* [OTL; London: SCM Press, 1962], 504–505).

23 I.e. simple *waw*, the verb in the nipĥʿal and the *nota accusativi* before *kol-hāʾāreṣ*. GK § 121*e* proposes emending to the qal, and this is followed by a number of commentators. It is unlikely, however, that the same error would arise independently in two separate passages. Alternatively, the grammar may be explained by appeal to the rare construction where, when an active verb governing two accusatives is turned into the passive, it nevertheless retains the double accusative; so G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903), 159; F. Delitzsch, *Biblischer Commentar über die Psalmen* (4th edn; Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1883), 519–520 (ET, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms*, II [3 vols; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1887/89], 351–352). JM § 129*c*N even speculates that the *ʾet* might here be used to introduce the subject; although this certainly happens occasionally, it seems unlikely in this case. For further discussion, see H. Migsch, 'Zur Bedeutung von מלא *Niphʿal* in Num 14,21 and Ps 72,19', *Biblica* 82 (2001), 79–83.

24 Isa. 11:9 is comparable but omits the specific reference to glory.

fulness of’) and by reversing the order of the words ‘glory’ and ‘all the earth’.

In the first clause of the Trisagion the word order is clearly predicate followed by subject: ‘Holy … is the Lord of Hosts’. The usual, though by no means unanimous, view is that the same therefore applies to the second;[25] hence, ‘his glory is the fulness of the earth’. Given that *m*^{e}*lô’* is the equivalent of ‘that which fills’,[26] this may justify the looser but traditional rendering, ‘the whole earth is full of his glory’, attested already in the versions from the LXX on.[27]

The alternative way of construing the sentence, namely as subject followed by predicate, which is certainly the normal word order when both elements of the sentence are definite, as here (unless there are other overriding considerations),[28] is rarely entertained, but has a certain contextual attraction. The matter cannot be decided on any other ground, so that everything depends on whether this alternative approach makes good sense. I should like to suggest that it does.

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25 See the discussion in H. Irsigler, ‘Gott als König in Berufung und Verkündigung Jesajas’, in F. V. Reiterer (ed.), *Ein Gott – Eine Offenbarung: Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese, Theologie und Spiritualität. Festschrift für Notker Füglister OSB zum 60. Geburtstag* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1991), 127–154 (134), and also GK § 141*l*; JM § 154*e*.

26 Cf. BDB, 571 for many clear examples; of especial relevance are Isa. 8:8; Ps. 24:1; 50:12; 89:12.

27 To that extent, the sharp remarks of R. Wagner *Textexegese als Strukturanalyse: Sprachwissenschaftliche Methode zur Erschließung althebräischer Texte am Beispiel des Visionsberichtes Jes 6,1–11* (ATAT 32; St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1989), 182, may not be warranted. The possibility might also be considered that LXX read the word as *mālē’*, and thought that the lack of grammatical concord was acceptable in the case of a verb preceding its subject. It is by no means certain, therefore, that the versions read the verbal form *māl*^{e}*’â*; still less should we emend, *contra* E. Nestle, ‘Miscellen 13. Zum Trisagion’, *ZAW* 25 (1905), 218–220, and, more hesitantly, G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah I–XXVII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark), 108.

28 Cf. F. I. Andersen, *The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch* (JBLMS 14; Nashville and New York, 1970), 32; see too Hartenstein, *Die Unzugänglichkeit Gottes*, 78–79, and the literature cited there. Wildberger seems not to recognize that MT allows for any alternative; cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 1–12* (BKAT, 10/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2nd edn, 1980), 232 (ET, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991], 249).

There can be little doubt that the dominant portrayal of God in Isaiah 6 is that of a king. Part of the role of a king in ancient times was to command the army, and there is an apparent hint in that direction here in the use of the divine title 'Lord of Hosts/Armies' not only in the trisagion itself, but perhaps more significantly as a qualifier of the title king in v. 5.[29] If we then turn with this background in mind to a study of the use of *kāḇôḏ*, 'glory', in Isaiah, we quickly come to 8:7, where the invading Assyrian is described as 'the king of Assyria and all his glory', self-evidently a reference to the impressive display of power represented by the Assyrian army.[30] Indeed, such language is reflected also in Akkadian usage, where one of the Assyrian kings contemporary with Isaiah, for instance, boasts that 'the terrifying radiance *(melemme)* of my majesty overwhelmed him'.[31] While within the thought-world of the Assyrians themselves this quality, being derived by the king from his God, was doubtless conceived as a literal form of radiance, the reflex of it in the language of Isaiah in the absolute form which we find in Isa. 8:6 seems almost certainly to have been demystified to refer to the visible military power with which the Assyrian appeared to a weaker opponent. Indeed, this extension is not unknown even within the Akkadian texts, where Shalmaneser III, for

29 For a discussion of the semantics of the title, see Mettinger, 'YHWH SABAOTH', 123–128.

30 So correctly Wildberger *Jesaja 1–12*, 326 (ET, *Isaiah 1–12*, 345): 'the unheard-of force of the enemy as it storms forward … the splendor of the enemy's external appearance but also its intense inner power'. See comparably M. Weinfeld 'כָּבוֹד; *kāḇôḏ*', *ThWAT* iv, 23–40 (28–32) (ET, *TDOT* vii, 22–38 [25–31]).

31 Cf. P. Machinist, 'Assyria and its Image in the First Isaiah', *JAOS* 103 (1983), 719–737 (727); A. L. Oppenheim, 'Akkadian *pul(u)ḫ(t)u* and *melammu*', *JAOS* 63 (1943) 31–34; E. Cassin, *La splendeur divine: introduction à l'étude de la mentalité mésopotamienne* (Paris: Mouton & Co, 1968), esp. 65–82. F. Hartenstein, 'JHWH und der "Schreckensglanz" Assurs (Jesaja 8,6–8): Traditions- und religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zur "Denkschrift" Jesaja 6–8', in F. Hartenstein, J. Krispenz and A. Schart (eds), *Schriftprophetie: Festschrift für Jörg Jeremias zum 65. Geburtstag* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004), 83–102. For some examples of texts in tyranslation that use the phrase, see conveniently W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger (eds), *The Context of Scripture*, 2: *Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 261–306.

instance, speaks of 'the splendor of my fierce weapons and my ferocious battle array' (*CoS* 2, 262). Similarly, at Isa. 16:14, 21:16 and 22:18, the 'glory' of a country or prominent citizen occurs in contexts where there is immediate reference to military power. And it seems likely that in such passages as 5:13, 10:3, 16, 18 and 17:4 this same usage is applied metaphorically. My proposal is that in 6:3 the claim is being made that it is 'the fulness of the whole earth' which is the divine king's glory in this sense. What, then, is 'the fulness of the whole earth'?

This use of 'fulness' in connection with the earth is relatively frequent elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, and in nearly all cases it refers to animate objects which fill the world or some part of it.[32] Without going through every occurrence to support this well-recognized point, attention may be drawn especially to the parallelism in Ps. 24:1, in view of that Psalm's close links with other aspects of Isaiah 6:

> The earth is the Lord's and all *its fulness (mᵉlôʾāh)*,
> the world, and *those who live in it*.

Similarly, within Isaiah, sense and parallelism are again telling at 34:1:

> Let the earth hear, and *all that fills it (mᵉlōʾāh)*,
> the world and *all that comes from it (kol-ṣeʾᵉṣāʾeyhā)*.

Jer. 8:16, 47:2, Ezek. 12:19, 19:7, Amos 6:8, and Mic. 1:2 are all further clear examples of the same, and it may well be that this phrase was also used in the liturgy with which Isaiah was familiar.

In my opinion, this juxtaposition of phrases that would have been familiar to Isaiah and his contemporaries from their knowledge of the temple liturgy actually leads to a quite new development in the theological understanding of this God of Israel – not in an absolute sense, since these were not wholly new ideas in Israel or in the wider ancient Near East, but in the popular understanding such as was celebrated in the cult, where (as still sometimes today) nationalism and religion can be all too frequently confused. If we had been able to ask one of those contemporaries what the divine king's 'glory' was, he or she would almost certainly have replied that it was the armies and the might of Israel; indeed, there are those who have sometimes thought that this

32 Cf. L. A. Snijders, 'מָלֵא; *mālēʾ*', *ThWAT* iv, 876–886 (885–886) (ET, *TDOT* viii, 297–307 [306–307]).

was the original significance of the word 'armies' in the divine title 'Lord of Hosts' itself. Isaiah's vision, it may be suggested, brought him to realize, rather, that the Lord was not so tied to Israel, and indeed that it was 'the fulness of the whole earth' that was at his disposal.

We should not overlook how significant a change in understanding is here being developed in the substance of liturgical worship. Isaiah was steeped in what we usually call the Zion tradition, even if there were significant aspects of it which he rejected or reinterpreted.[33] Without going into detail here, and while recognizing the dangers of over-simplifying what was certainly more of a complex of varying beliefs than a single, unified dogma,[34] it is important to recall some of its general central tenets.

The origins of the system lie in distant, pre-Israelite notions as known to us best from those texts discovered at Ugarit which I have already mentioned. Although these texts are geographically and chronologically distanced, there is good evidence to suppose that they give us a reasonable insight into the religious beliefs of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land, and that this in turn will have had a considerable influence on the developing Israelite beliefs. One obvious channel of communication of particular relevance for our present concerns will have been Jerusalem itself, captured and incorporated (according to our extant sources) only as late as the time of David.[35]

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33 For fuller studies, see, for instance, Schmidt, *Alttestamentlicher Glaube*, 207–220; J. J. M. Roberts, 'Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire', in T. Ishida (ed.), *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982), 93–108 [repr. *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Collected Essays* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002], 331–347); ibid., 'Solomon's Jerusalem and the Zion Tradition', in A. G. Vaughn and A. E. Killebrew (eds), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The First Temple Period* (SBL Symposium Series 18; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 163–170; Ollenburger, *Zion*; J. D. Levenson, 'Zion Traditions', *ABD* 6, 1098–1102; E. Otto, 'צִיּוֹן *ṣîyôn*', *ThWAT* vi, 994–1028 (ET, *TDOT* xii, 333–365) (with extensive further bibliography); J. A. Groves, 'Zion Traditions', in B. T. Arnold and H. G. M. Williamson (eds), *Dictionary of the Old Testament Historical Books* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2005), 1019–1025.

34 Cf. C. Körting, *Zion in den Psalmen* (FAT 48; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

35 It is no secret that there are currently considerable uncertainties about the historical value of the accounts of the United Monarchy, but even if they prove to be well founded and Jerusalem became influential even later, that

At the same time it is also agreed that whatever material Israel inherited from that quarter has been radically recast over time so that it becomes extremely difficult to disentangle the two in our extant sources. Equally, it is not easy to know the extent to which various forms of expression would have been taken more or less literally or metaphorically when used in cultic poetry. From some of the Psalms of Zion, however, we derive a reasonable picture of the central motifs which may be summarized as follows.

Zion is the dwelling place of God as the Great King. This is explicit in Ps. 48:2,[36] but is also clearly implied in, for instance, Ps. 46:4. It certainly derives ultimately from the Canaanite belief in Mount Zaphon as the mountain of the gods (and of Baal in particular), as reflected still in the language of Ps. 48:2, with its geographically puzzling description of Zion as 'beautiful in elevation' and even more as 'in the far north'. The first Hebrew word here is of uncertain meaning (recesses, heights?), but the second is clear: it is Zaphon, which has in time become a common Hebrew noun for 'north'. Either way, the phrase points beyond itself, for either Zion is being equated with Zaphon, or it is being described in a manner which makes for geographical nonsense and is thus clearly to be taken symbolically.[37]

God's dwelling is given a concrete focus in the temple, his house. It is here that Isaiah had his vision of the divine king enthroned high above all (Isa. 6:1), and elsewhere too it is regarded as the house or palace of the king (e.g. Ps. 84:3).

As king, his rule is based both on past victory and also on present and anticipated triumphs. In the past, and no doubt deriving again from Canaanite thought, he has triumphed over the primeval forces of chaos, as represented in particular by the sea or deep, so establishing

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would only serve to strengthen my point here. For useful surveys of opinion, see Vaughn and Killebrew (eds), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*.

36 In many Psalms, the verse numbering differs in the Hebrew and English versions. For convenience, I shall use the English system throughout.

37 There are some other strange elements which indicate that these Psalms frequently move in the sphere of 'sacred geography', such as the reference to 'a river whose streams make glad the city of God' (46:4). See further discussion in R. P. Gordon, *Holy Land, Holy City: Sacred Geography and the Interpretation of the Bible* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2004), 35–45.

order in what we should call creation.[38] His kingship in this regard is a constant source of praise in the so-called enthronement Psalms (e.g. 93, 95, 96:10). Similar language is also used, however, to extol his triumph over the nations and peoples of the world, even though we are given no indication as to how or when this may have happened (e.g. Pss. 47 and 99).

Going along with this portrayal (and in this going beyond any form of Canaanite antecedent that we know of) we find that the election of David and his descendants to rule over his people in Zion is a strong parallel theme. The evidence does not support the thesis that has sometimes been advanced in the past that in fact the Zion tradition as a whole has its origin in this belief,[39] but the very fact that it could be seriously entertained indicates how important this element was in some respects. Psalm 2 is sufficient to show that the rule of God and of his anointed king 'on Zion, my holy hill' were inextricably linked in these circles.

This last point is important because it leads on to the next observation, namely that God's victory as expressed in worship could and did easily become politicized. His victories past and future became identified with the victories of his people under their divinely appointed king. It is thus no surprise to find expressions of the view that because God is 'with us' in Zion, no enemy assault can prevail. The inviolability of Zion, apparently vindicated on some occasions but ultimately rudely overthrown at the hands of the Babylonian Nebuchednezzar and thereafter reinterpreted along new lines, certainly lies close beneath the surface of a number of the Psalms. Whether Isaiah also held such beliefs has been much debated; in my view he did not (at least, not in that crude sense), but that does not mean that he is not constantly interacting with contemporaries who did.

In this context, it is interesting to note how the language of primeval chaos gets taken up on occasions and used as a way of expressing the clamorous threats of attacking kings. The forces that might

38 Cf. J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (UCOP 35; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

39 J. J. M. Roberts, 'The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition', *JBL* 92 (1973), 329–344 (repr. *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 331–347); ibid., 'Solomon's Jerusalem and the Zion Tradition'.

threaten to overthrow God's good order in creation are identified, so to speak, with those current political forces which threaten the good order of Judean independence, if not sovereignty!

Let me sum up this brief description by drawing renewed attention to a few verses in Psalms 46 and 48, which on anyone's showing give classic expression to the ancient beliefs about Zion.

> (Psalm 46:)
> God is our refuge and strength,
> a very present help in time of trouble.
> Therefore we will not fear …
> though [the sea's] waters roar and foam,
> though the mountains tremble with its tumult …
> the nations are in an uproar, the kingdoms totter;
> he utters his voice, the earth melts.
> The Lord of hosts is with us,
> the God of Jacob is our refuge …
> He makes wars cease to the end of the earth;
> he breaks the bow and shatters the spear,
> he burns the shields with fire.
>
> (Psalm 48:)
> … Mount Zion … the city of the great king …
> Then the kings assembled,
> they came on together,
> as soon as they saw it, they were astounded;
> they were in panic, they took to flight …
> As we have heard, so have we seen,
> in the city of the Lord of Hosts,
> in the city of our God,
> which God establishes for ever.
> We ponder your steadfast love, O God,
> in the midst of your temple.

Now, in the light of this summary of the notions which would have been prominent in the minds of those who worshipped with Isaiah in the temple, we can begin to see what a shock his reworking of the traditional liturgical formulae would have evoked. Far from the Holy One of Israel using his chosen people to dominate other nations and their kings, as was usually celebrated in the liturgy, the trisagion boldly affirms that the Lord of Hosts is far from being so limited. Indeed, he has the universal fulness of the earth at his disposal to serve as his

army, with the added implication that in principle this might be used against, and not, as previously assumed, on behalf of his people. This latter point is not stated here explicitly, of course, but it comes to expression frequently enough elsewhere in the writings of Isaiah, not least in ch. 8 to which reference has already been made. Indeed, the continuation of the passage which speaks of 'the king of Assyria and all his glory' depicts his onslaught as being like the overwhelming flood of a great river which overflows its banks whose outspread 'wings' (either the branches of the river or the flanks of the army) will be 'the fulness of the breadth of your land *(m*^{e}*lô' rōḥaḇ-'aṣ*^{e}*kā)*' (8:8).[40] The echo of the trisagion in this passage is thus palpable.

To sum up our discussion of the trisagion within the context of the sayings of the eighth-century Isaiah, then, we may conclude that Isaiah drew on language familiar to him and his contemporaries to laud the might and power of God depicted as a king with his armies. By slight changes in the formulaic language, however, he reversed the normal understanding of these words so that they are no longer an expression of a simplistic form of nationalism but rather give expression to divine freedom and sovereignty in the choice of agent of the divine will, even if that comes at the expense of his own people.[41]

That conclusion is clearly at some remove from the way that the trisagion is understood in later liturgical usage, so in the final part of

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40 For more on this (mixed) image and its possible background in Akkadian sources, see Hartenstein, 'YHWH und der "Schreckensglanz" Assurs', who refers helpfully to a number of parallels, though his interpretation of the line differs somewhat from mine. His suggested dating in the light of these parallels deserves discussion, though is not of too much concern in the present context; even if the use of the image in Isaiah 8 is a little later than the time of Isaiah, it still furnishes important early evidence for the understanding of ch. 6. The same consideration applies if, as a number of commentators believe, the line cited in the text above has been added later to an Isaianic verse.

41 In order to avoid misunderstanding, it should be stressed once more that I do not mean to imply by this that Isaiah was the first to assert that God might use foreign agents to punish his own people. Within Israel such ideas are at least found in the earlier prophet Amos, for example, and of course the notion is well attested elsewhere as, for example, in the Mesha stele. My emphasis, rather, is on the likelihood that in worship at the temple such an idea would hardly have been celebrated publicly; nor would Isaiah's contemporaries have expected to hear such language in their liturgy.

this lecture I need to explain how and why its subsequent development was not something entirely arbitrary but makes good sense within the context of the development of the book of Isaiah as a whole.

We may start by noting that Isaiah 6 as a whole has exerted a marked influence on the fashioning of the opening passage in Isaiah 40, often referred to as the prologue to the work of an exilic prophet who is conventionally named Deutero-Isaiah. Within a considerable number of connections,[42] verse 5 offers a clear echo of 6:3: 'Then the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all people ("flesh") shall see it together'. The context for this announcement is again the heavenly court. In this setting in chapter 6, as we have seen, God's holiness and glory were recognized and celebrated by the Seraphim and, being overheard by the prophet, there is an indication that the same was true within the Jerusalem cult. But for 'this people' at large, it is clear that there was to be no seeing in the sense of understanding (6:9). Now, however, this glory is to be seen openly, 'revealed'. That

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42 See variously, for instance, R. Rendtorff, 'Jesaja 6 im Rahmen der Komposition des Jesajabuches', in J. Vermeylen (ed.), *The Book of Isaiah* (BETL 81; Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 1989), 73–82 (ET, 'Isaiah 6 in the Framework of the Composition of the Book', in R. Rendtorff, *Canon and Theology: Overtures to an Old Testament Theology* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994], 170–180); R. Albertz, 'Das Deuterojesaja-Buch als Fortschreibung der Jesaja-Prophetie', in E. Blum, C. Macholz and E. W. Stegemann (eds), *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990), 241–256; C. R. Seitz, 'The Divine Council: Temporal Transition and New Prophecy in the Book of Isaiah', *JBL* 109 (1990), 229–247; H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 30–56; J. Goldingay and D. Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40–55* (ICC; London and New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006), i, 58. It should be noted, however, that this whole approach is rejected by J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 19A; New York: Doubleday, 2002), 50 and 179–180. I believe that the general conclusion stated above may stand regardless of the contentious issue whether Isaiah 40:1–11 (or 1–8) were an original unity or whether two or more hands are responsible for them, as a number of scholars have affirmed. For a helpful attempt to find some common ground between the differing approaches to a redaction-critic analysis of Isaiah 40–55 as a whole, see R. Albertz, *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Biblische Enzyklopädie 7; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 283–323.

seems to involve not just a shift in human perception (though the emphasis on 'seeing' here suggests, by contrast with 6:9, that this too is included), but in the nature of divine glory itself; in contrast to the previous understanding sketched out above, a decisive step has been taken towards God's 'glory' becoming a visible token of his presence. Indeed, so visible does his glory here become that it will be seen universally, by 'all flesh'. Whereas in Isaiah 6 God's glory spoke of his military entourage in a somewhat threatening sense, now God himself appears and that in a context that speaks of his people's liberation and return from exile, a transformation in their fortunes which will invite amazement on the part of the nations who witness it.

Once that changed understanding has entered the literary tradition, it is quickly absorbed and developed. Thus in 58:8, for instance, where we read that 'your vindicator shall go before you, the glory of the Lord shall be your rear guard', we at once recognize an allusion to the story of the wilderness wanderings where God went before his people in a pillar of cloud by day and protected them with a pillar of fire by night. That very visible symbol is now dubbed 'the glory of the Lord'.[43] Furthermore, whereas in the stories of those older times the glory of God rested on the portable sanctuary known as the tabernacle, now Isaiah 60 (and see too 62:2) repeatedly affirms that that same glory has risen upon and will appear over Zion, a visible symbol which will attract the nations and their kings in peaceful pilgrimage and homage.

This lightly sketched development of our theme (to which a good deal of further material could be added[44]) reaches its climax in the final verses of the book, where 'glory' occurs no less than five times, sometimes with evident allusions back to earlier passages, so suggesting that one ancient author, at least, saw connections between the diverse material we have been considering. Thus in 66:11 there is a reference to the glory of Jerusalem, and in 66:12 a use of 'glory' more

43 It is worth noting that 58:8 is clearly developed from 52:12, with the words 'the glory of the Lord' in 58:8 standing in the place of 'the God of Israel' in 52:12.

44 See my essay '"From One Degree of Glory to Another": Themes and Theology in Isaiah', in E. Ball (ed.), *In Search of True Wisdom: Essays in Old Testament Interpretation in Honour of Ronald E. Clements* (JSOTSup 300; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 174–195.

in the sense of wealth which will be transferred to her from the nations (cf. 60:13; 61:6). In 66:18 we are told that all nations and tongues 'shall come and shall see my glory', an obvious reflection on 40:5[45] which further makes clear that God's glory is localized in Jerusalem.[46] Then in 66:19 we hear of distant nations 'who have not heard of my fame or seen my glory', and that an unspecified 'they' 'shall declare my glory among the nations'. It seems, therefore, that the hardening saying of 6:9 is to be reversed, not just for Israel but, in the spirit of Deutero-Isaiah, for the nations as well. In short, it is clear that this concluding author of the book was aware of several of the earlier passages to which we have referred and that he deduced synthetically from them that God's exclusive glory was to be seen in Jerusalem and that this would act as a magnet to the nations who would surrender their 'glory' to her in acknowledgement. Thus the glory of God as presented initially in 6:3 has been transformed both by its closer identification with the visible revelation of God himself and by the fact that this to be seen universally from Jerusalem, not just perceived within the narrow confines of the national cult.

In the light of these developments of our theme in the book of Isaiah as a whole, it is no wonder that the translator who rendered the book into Greek in the Septuagint should have read 6:3 in the light of the use of 'glory' later on. As L. H. Brockington wrote long ago, as δόξα gained 'more and more emphasis on external appearance, it was an appropriate portmanteau word to use in relation to the appearance of God in theophany. The Hebrew text of Isaiah, notably in the later chapters of the book, had already paved the way for the concentration of interest on the brilliant shining of God's presence and this would be carried by the word δόξα in every reference that had theophanic implications'. With regard specifically to chapter 6, he observes that 'in

45 It is noteworthy that the 'all flesh' of that verse recurs in 66:16, 23 and 24, though not specifically in relation to the glory of the Lord. This repetition reinforces the fact that 40:5 was in our author's mind.

46 Isa. 35:2 is another obviously related text ('they shall see the glory of the Lord'), though in this case it is less clear who 'they' are – ransomed Israel or the desert; for introductory discussion, with references, see R. Rendtorff, 'Zur Komposition des Buches Jesaja', *VT* 34 (1984), 295–320 (300, n. 19) (ET 'The Composition of the Book of Isaiah', in *Canon and Theology*, 146–169 [151, n. 25]).

transmitting the story in Greek the translator substituted "glory" for "train" in the first verse and then evidently intended his readers to take the reference to "glory" in verse 3 in the same way. The whole earth would be full of God's brilliance as was the temple at the moment of Isaiah's vision'.[47] In other words, the book has set the platform for the rendering of the trisagion in the Greek translation, and this in turn has become the vehicle whereby it then entered the Jewish, and ultimately Christian, liturgy. Nonetheless, as we saw at the start, the regress to the curious use of the word Sabaoth serves as a reminder that these words were once used in a culture far removed from the domesticated setting of a west European church or concert hall.

There was a time when an exclusively historical reading of the Hebrew text would have been considered determinative. If that it what it meant then, there was no more to be said. And if it did not fit with later interpretation and use, then so much the worse for the later users. An unbridgeable gulf seemed to open up between the academy and the wider culture. To some extent that was an unfortunate legacy of Wellhausen, whose name we continue to honour, indeed revere, this evening. And for sure, there is no going back behind the positions that he established so acutely. But if there is no going back, there is also no disrespect in suggesting that perhaps there is a way forward – a way which continues to take the narrowly historical with full seriousness and which yet seeks also to do justice to the continuing story of the growth of the biblical literature as part of that history. In this way, material which history seems to remove from us may be restored as part of the nourishment which any community derives from its ongoing, living tradition.

47 L. H. Brockington, 'The Greek Translator of Isaiah and his Interest in ΔΟΞΑ', *VT* 1 (1951), 23–32.